Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America

Edited by GEOFFREY BAKER AND TESS KNIGHTON

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Ecclesiastical musicians in early modern Manila

DAVID R. M. IRVING*

Manila is a noisy city. The roar of traffic and the blowing of car horns provide a ceaseless backdrop to the individual and collective musical experiences of the city's inhabitants, in the streets, in homes and in public buildings. Singers try out their voices in karaoke bars; guitarists strum their instruments on footpaths. The churches of the metropolis regularly throb with amplified choirs, bands and organs, while schools resonate with the singing of sacred and secular songs. Performances of live and recorded music breach the sonic boundaries of public and private spaces, melding them into one.

Manila, like most of the Philippines, is inhabited by a devoutly religious population that is predominantly Roman Catholic. The Republic of the Philippines stands apart from neighbouring nations in South East Asia by virtue of differences in religion, culture, language and the alignment of its international relations. It is a country that has long been the geographical, cultural and economic bridge between the Americas and Asia. From 1565 to 1898, these islands were part of the Spanish Empire, and for the first two and a half centuries of this period they were linked to Latin America by means of the lucrative trans-Pacific galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco. Although 1815 marked the end of direct cultural exchange with Latin America, and the necessity for Spain to re-route its administrative and financial channels to the islands via the Indian Ocean, the invasion of the Philippines by the USA in 1898 and the establishment of a new colonial regime meant that a link with the Americas was renewed. During the course of the twentieth century, the use of English as the lingua franca for administration and education in the Philippines was set firmly in place, and tastes for music, art, literature, dance and sport were strongly influenced by the mass media and culture of the USA.[1] With this legacy of connections with North America, we can see that the gravitational pull of mainstream Filipino culture has been eastwards, across the Pacific, for the better part of half a millennium. Even in the fiercely and proudly independent Republic

* I would like to thank Oxford University Press for permitting me to weave into this chapter some small excerpts from my book, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila.*

of the Philippines of today, some Filipinos use the word 'mainland' to refer not to continental Asia, but to the USA.

If the Philippine Islands as a whole represent a critical connection between the Americas and Asia, it is Manila itself – the most important metropolis in the archipelago – that represents the crucial axis of exchange. In 1571, the conquistador Miguel López de Legazpi (1502–72) founded the city over the smouldering remains of the Tagalog town of Maynilad, following the forced capitulation of Rajah Soliman (d.1575) and other local rulers. From this time onwards, the stage was set for complex interchange and negotiations between different peoples and cultures, in an urban space at the mouth of the river Pasig, nestled in a sheltered bay and facing powerful Asian civilizations across the water. In the words of Phelan, Manila was 'the only functional city in the Philippines' during the early modern period.[2] As a wealthy trading entrepôt, Manila attracted merchants from all over the world and enjoyed steady importation of luxury goods from the south of China. The walled city centre, called Intramuros, enclosed six convents, the cathedral, the royal chapel, two universities, schools for boys and girls, and numerous Spanish residences; it was known as the 'Rome of the East'. Meanwhile, the settlements beyond the walls (Extramuros) included communities of Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese and other immigrants. The affluence of the city was reflected in the extravagance of its musical culture; many early modern accounts of festivities describe Manila's multifaceted soundscape, which comprised elements of Asian, American, African and European traditions.

Like Spanish colonies in the Americas, the social hierarchy in early modern Manila was based on a system of *castas*. However, the presence of large immigrant communities from neighbouring Asian countries (especially China), not to mention merchants and traders from Europe and the Middle East (and travellers en route to other parts of Asia), meant that this system functioned in a radically different way. Spanish residents – whether born in Spain, Latin America or the Philippines – remained a minority; it has been estimated that Spaniards, together with the Spanish mestizo (Eurasian) population, never represented more than 1 per cent of the islands' population during the entire colonial period.[3] The ecclesiastical and secular authorities manipulated and controlled the local population through systematic programmes of conversion, hispanization and urbanization. As in Latin America, Spanish colonialism in the Philippines built on pre-existing social structures in order to mould them in accordance with the cultural expectations of empire. Coercion was a central part of this process, and indigenous collaboration was essential, especially in terms of

establishing and perpetuating the celebration of religious ritual. Music played an important part in this process, and the teaching of ecclesiastical music became an important strategy of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines.

Within decades of the Spanish foundation of Manila, indigenous musicians performing in European styles filled the churches of the capital and the rest of the country. Colonial historiography abounds with hyperbolic reports attesting to the skill of Filipino musicians. Of course, we should bear in mind that these tracts were no doubt produced to valorize and justify the enterprises of religious conversion and cultural hispanization; musical expression of religiosity was a tangible, audible and visible measure by which spiritual commitment could be observed and tested. In the late seventeenth century, for instance, a Franciscan missionary commented that

> already all Filipinos dance, play instruments and sing in our manner, and use all the instruments of the Spaniards, and sing in a way that we do not have any advantage over them. They are the musicians in all the churches of these islands, in the cathedral of Manila just as in the rest of the churches and convents that are within and far away from the city. There is hardly a town that does not have its own musical ensemble with a sufficient number of voices, trebles and many instruments, and it is a common sentiment of those who have seen one or the other that there are groups here that can compete with those of some of the cathedrals in Spain.[4]

Being an ecclesiastical musician was evidently a popular occupation in the early modern Philippines. At the same time, cultural proximity to Spaniards, not distance from them, was a condition to which colonial musicians aspired, and any indication of parity between Filipino *capillas* and their counterparts in Spain was the highest praise that could be lavished by colonial authorities.[5]

It seems that many Filipino musicians were willing to enter into the service of the church, and that some invested considerable opportunism into their choice of profession. There were desirable incentives for Filipinos to lay down arms of resistance, to take up instruments and to swell their voices in the newly established churches. These included exemption from 'tribute' (taxation or forced labour), the annual payment of a not inconsiderable rice subsidy, the holding of privileged positions in religious and educational institutions, certain freedom of movement and subsidized travel, exclusivity of access to expensive musical commodities and technology (such as pipe organs), and increased opportunities to rub shoulders with ecclesiastical authorities. As I will explain, such perquisites contributed to the emergence of a professionalized class of ecclesiastical musicians that would

represent the largest body of practitioners of European music in all of early modern Asia. It is likely that they also formed an ultimate cause for the great proliferation of Filipino professional musicians working in Western idioms today.

Musical practices and the relationships between patrons and practitioners within ecclesiastical institutions of early modern Manila constitute a fascinating area of inquiry. In this essay I aim to interrogate the concepts of employment, enfranchisement and liminality as they apply to indigenous ecclesiastical musicians in early modern Manila. I will argue that the *cantores* of Manila (and other parts of the Philippines) became professionalized through the patronage of an elite stratum of colonial society and through the collective tributary support of their peers. Certain regulations formulated by ecclesiastical and governmental authorities enfranchised these musicians to a limited extent, as they were able to move within sacred spaces that were otherwise reserved for members of the elite. Although the churches of old Manila had solid walls, these boundaries of sacred space were permeable, and musicians could pass through. Before we examine these and other issues, however, we must begin by considering how Filipino society's radical transformation from a precolonial to a colonial state took place.

Parochializing colonialism

As Adriaan C. van Oss has convincingly demonstrated, the institution of the parish acted as a principal agent of colonialism in the New World, in terms of the establishment of administrative and organizational hierarchies, and the changes that the parish's imposition wrought on indigenous social structures.[6] This observation applies as much to the Philippines as it does to the Americas. In many ways, the precolonial societies of the Philippines had exactly the sort of indigenous structure that agents of the Spanish Empire were searching out for the purposes of religious, social and cultural conversion. Prior to the Spanish invasion of the islands, the prevailing form of a Filipino community was the *barangay* (a group of thirty to one hundred families), and the majority of precolonial Filipino societies had a type of tripartite class structure with which early modern Europeans could easily empathize: nobility, their free supporters and serfs. Each *barangay* was ruled by a hereditary *datu* (who came from a noble class that the Tagalogs called *maginoo*), while the *timawa* (also called *maharlika* in Tagalog) were born free and the *alipin* (*oripun* in Visayan) were slaves.[7]

In the Manila region and other parts of the archipelago that fell under the administration of the Spanish colonial government, the three-tiered class

system was more or less maintained, as were the term and institution of the *barangay*. The *datu* was recognized as the head of each *barangay*, and was named *cabeza de barangay*. He had total control over his community and was responsible for collecting tribute and forwarding it to the Spanish authorities.[8] One out of a group of *cabezas de barangay* was given the role of *gobernadorcillo*, answering directly to the Spanish official *alcalde mayor*. The *cabezas de barangay* were given the label *principalía*, and in circumstances similar to the treatment of Aztec and Inca nobilities, this Filipino aristocracy was free from having to pay tribute or perform service to the colonial overlords. Members of the *principalía* were entrusted with governing posts in *pueblos* or *doctrinas*, and the Laws of the Indies mandated that they should be well treated.[9] The Spanish government also bestowed special privileges on certain powerful Filipino families, some of whom eventually adopted coats of arms in the European tradition.[10] The position of *cabeza de barangay* was hereditary, and the eldest son of the incumbent would be the successor to the post.[11]

Several *barangays* usually became the basis for a parish, or a *pueblo*. Apart from the addition of new European and immigrant tiers in the overall structure of society in the islands following Spanish conquest, the most significant changes to internal social structures of the Christianized indigenous communities was their *reducción* (urbanization) and/or geographical relocation *bajo las campanas* (within the sound of the bells), and the appointment of four to eight *cantores* within each *pueblo* for the performance of church music. Precolonial societies had communed with nature through mimetic musical performances, but under the colonial regime the relationship between sound and space became more strictured and structured through the imposition of sonic boundaries that defined the limits of urban settlements. While balladeers and mourners had performed for payment in the precolonial Philippines,[12] the imposition of the colonial tribute system bestowed a new significance on the role of musicians in indigenous society. As the *cantores* were exempted from tribute, like the *cabezas de barangay*, their social status was elevated.

These were attractive positions for which many musicians vied. As Domingo Fernández Navarrete (1618–86) put it in the late seventeenth century: 'His Majesty allows every Church eight Singing Men, who enjoy Privileges, are employ'd at the Divine Office, sing well; and there being always some aiming at those Places, the actual number is greater, but only the Eight that are appointed enjoy the Privileges granted.'[13] An appointment as a *cantor* provided the means by which a Filipino musician could become socially mobile and enjoy some degree of enfranchisement within colonial society. A Jesuit book of rules and customs from the Visayas qualifies that

the leading role of *maestro de capilla* was given to one of these eight singers.[14] Just as the *gobernadorcillo* was chosen from a group of *cabezas de barangay* to become a proxy for civil authority, the *maestro de capilla* was ordained from among the eight *cantores* as a servant of the church but the master of his fellow musicians. This position of authority put him in direct contact with the parish priest in organizing and performing music for church rituals. We should also note that *cantores* (and sacristans), as privileged parishioners, could not be made to look after cows or horses, nor to serve in the kitchen, nor provide personal services to priests.[15] They became the elite of their parishes.

Although only eight *cantores* could be appointed to these posts, other hopeful candidates swelled the numbers to make a large musical ensemble, as Fernández Navarrete observed. The popularity of the material privileges enjoyed by *cantores* meant that the number of musicians engaging in performance and training exceeded the number of available tributary concessions. Only on the occasion of death, retirement or incapacity of one of the official *cantores* would there be the opportunity for another to take his place. Some families became musical dynasties that regularly provided the successors to these posts. The competitive selection of singers for official church posts explains the intensity of singing practice from a young age. The Franciscans established special schools for the *cantores* in their parishes, probably to streamline the process of musical training (and hispanization) as much as to promote general singing by their parishioners. As one Franciscan historian noted in 1741:

> From these [people] are selected the most appropriate for the service of the church, and cult of God, in that they perform duties, some in the office of sacristan, and others in that of *cantor*. As such, the Divine Offices are celebrated admirably with devotion, and solemnity, owing to the personal service of some sacristans who are well informed in the practice of ritual, and to the skill of musical voices, as the singers have practised since their youth. There is no church that lacks a very capable ensemble of voices and instruments, which the religious use in the [celebration of the] Divine Cult, in its sensitive consolation, which the Filipinos like to attend.[16]

In the schools of Franciscan parishes, where children learned to read, write, count, sing and serve at Mass, the *maestro* – who had to be the most skilful and talented *cantor* of the parish – was required to teach plainchant and polyphony, recorder and 'all musical instruments that are customarily played in the churches'.[17]

There is no mention of gender in the descriptions of the *cantores*, but we know that most official posts mentioned in the *Recopilación de leyes*

and other decrees were usually designated for men unless specifically noted. Some sources also seem to imply that *cantores* specialized in vocal music, but other references to village bands would suggest that many singers were proficient on instruments, and that they frequently swapped between these roles. It is possible, however, that many of the instrumentalists merely augmented the singers – voluntarily – without enjoying 'the Privileges granted', as noted by Fernández Navarrete. Nevertheless, the general clamour of wishful candidates participating in the same duties as the mandated singers provides a prime example of a political decree not only regulating but also motivating the indigenous populace into acts of musical performance.

It is worth examining the official legislation on which the privileges of parochial musicians were established and built. The *cantores*' exemption from tribute appears to originate from the *Recopilación de leyes* (libro VI, título III, ley vi). First promulgated by Philip III (1578–1621) in Madrid on 10 October 1618, the law concerns the official number of *cantores* and sacristans allowed in each town of the Indies, proclaiming that 'in all the towns that have more than one hundred *indios*, there will be two or three *cantores*'.[18] A far cry from the eight places mentioned by Fernández Navarrete and others, the original number of *cantores* mandated by Philip III was apparently viewed as a ratio of singers to tributes. When and how the increase in the official number occurred appears unclear – the publication of a fourth edition of the *Recopilación* as late as 1791, for instance, simply reproduced the same number as decreed in 1618 – but it was probably simply a matter of local interpretation and application by the governor and the ecclesiastical authorities.

In 1739, the Dominican Manuel del Río (d.1749) published a small volume containing moral and religious instructions for the governance and direction of the Dominican ministries, in which he described the ratio of singers to tributes in each parish as eight *cantores* for parishes with more than 500 tributes (approximately 2,000 people), and four *cantores* for those with fewer.[19] Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several Spanish governors of the Philippines compiled guidelines for their underlings and successors, entitled *Ordenanzas de buen gobierno*, which took into account recent local political developments, as well as new legislation from Madrid. Governor José Antonio Raón y Gutiérrez (1703–70), who ruled from July 1765 to July 1770, made some revisions of the *Ordenanzas* in 1768, decreeing that a community of more than 500 tributes should have eight *cantores*, and one of 400 tributes should have six *cantores*. This decreased to five *cantores* for 300 tributes, and four for 200. But he insisted that no community, however small, should have fewer than four *cantores*.

The *cantores* (four, five, six or eight), two sacristans and one porter in every community were to be paid a certain amount of rice each year: each individual was issued with an annual allowance of unhusked rice, totalling approximately 80 kg. The governor rounded off this order by citing abuse of these rules, and warning *alcaldes* that they would face a heavy fine for any further transgression.[20]

The insistence on the maintenance of a minimum of four singers, however small the community might be, is noteworthy. This number was ideal for the effective performance of sacred vocal polyphony, and conforms to the little that is known about the teaching of European liturgical music – plainchant and polyphony – in Philippine missions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Consequently, there was a considerable number of professional musicians throughout the country. We can make a mean estimate on the basis of an ecclesiastical survey made in 1750–51 by the Jesuit Juan José Delgado (1697–1755), which offered details for 529 parishes in the islands.[21] Even if, for argument's sake, half of these parishes were regarded as 'small' (and thus appointed only four *cantores*), a simple calculation would reveal that in the mid eighteenth century, almost 3,500 *cantores* were exempted from tribute for musical services in parishes throughout the Philippines. This represents a comparatively small percentage of the entire 'pacified' and Christianized population at the time, which totalled 904,116 people over the age of seven.[22] But it is a relatively large number in musical terms, and larger than the combined Spanish and Eurasian population of all the islands. In no other territory of early modern Asia could there be found such a large corpus of professional ecclesiastical musicians literate in European musical practices and Roman Catholic liturgy. Still, this approximation of the number of practising church musicians is conservative, for it accounts only for the *cantores* officially appointed by the Church and exempted from tribute. It does not consider the other musicians who, aiming for these places, swelled the numbers.

Employment, enfranchisement and liminality

If we are to consider the most privileged and sacrosanct colonial spaces in which Filipinos could be employed as ecclesiastical musicians, we need to examine the cathedral, churches, convents and chapels of Intramuros de Manila. As will be discussed below, indigenous ecclesiastical musicians occupied liminal niches in colonial society, but in terms of their presence – if any – in colonial historiography, they are marginalized. An extremely

small number of ecclesiastical musicians (of any ethnicity) can be identified by name in early modern Manila, and of these, even fewer can be pinpointed as Filipinos. Because Filipinos often took Spanish names, their identity is subsumed in a mass of Spanish archival data. Generally, some members of the indigenous *principalía* retained their dynastic patronyms (such as Magsaysay or Dobali), but mestizos and many converted Filipinos in the metropoles bore Spanish Christian names and surnames, especially those Filipinos who became lay members of religious congregations.[23]

While we can presume that many Filipinos worked as musicians in Manila cathedral during the early modern period, only two individuals can be identified by name. In 1657, a man named don Baltazar gat Dobali was listed as *Ministro y superior de la capilla y música*.[24] The inclusion of the respectful adjunct 'gat' in the latter name indicates that this man was from the Tagalog nobility. Almost a century later, in 1740, one of the few organists listed by name in the cathedral's *Libro de gobierno* was one Faustino Magsaisay, whose surname is obviously Tagalog.[25] Clearly, there remain many other Spanish names in this inventory of musicians – names that could ostensibly belong to indigenous Filipinos or mestizos – but we have no way of telling who these people were or with which ethnic group they identified themselves. Within the Convento de San Agustín of Manila, there were two more indigenous musicians who have been identified by name in early modern chronicles; both were *hermanos legos* (lay brothers) of the Augustinian order. The Spanish missionary Gaspar de San Agustín (1650–1724) extolled the virtues of a Tagalog musician of noble birth, named Marcelo de San Agustín (d.1697), in the following way:

> We have a brother in religion, called Brother Marcelo de San Agustín, native to this city, who could be the crown[ing glory] of the Tagalogs, for his rare virtue, and for the good service he has rendered to the Convent of Manila, in various capacities, all those for which God gave him ability. For he is the most dexterous organist known among the Filipinos, who are very skilful in playing instruments; he is a composer, and master of the singers, and minor sacristan, and has made and written many choirbooks, and above all, he is a great servant of God.[26]

This biographical account has been noted by a number of historians of Filipino music as an example of a hispanized ecclesiastical musician. Yet no notice has been taken of the importance of subsequent comments made by Gaspar de San Agustín, who must have known Marcelo personally. This chronicler went on to write that 'his parents were nobles, and on the site where the church and sacristy of the [Augustinian] Convent of Manila are presently situated, stood houses and lands of his grandfather, a reason that

motivated him to take up the Habit.'[27] The significance of this link cannot be emphasized enough: music provided the means by which Marcelo could continue to assert his familial authority over his ancestral lands, within the structure of the colonial regime.

Given the racial strictures on entry to the religious orders,[28] there was no other way in which Marcelo could rise to prominence within this institution. Through his direction of the Augustinian *coro* (and probably also the *capilla de música*), he regained some element of control over the very institution that had usurped his dynastic seat. If we are to trace his ancestry back some further generations, we can see an even more remarkable lineage: as Luciano P. R. Santiago has shown, Marcelo de San Agustín was in fact a direct descendant (a great-great-grandson) of none other than Rajah Soliman, the ruler of the original settlement of Maynilad, who was unseated by Legazpi in 1571.[29] The distinction of Marcelo as the best organist 'among the Filipinos' suggests that a large number of indigenous instrumentalists were employed in this capacity. Although many were surely local, some ecclesiastical musicians in the city came from further afield. Juan Alfaro, the other named Filipino musician, from Tanauan on the Visayan island of Leyte, professed as a lay brother in the Convento de San Pablo on 15 September 1695, and held the post of organist there for twenty years.[30] He would have known Marcelo de San Agustín, and was possibly taught by this 'crowning glory of the Tagalogs'.

We might call these men 'professional musicians' – the Augustinian lay brothers in a double sense, since they also 'professed' as members of a religious community – because they earned their living from musical performance. Professional musicians in early modern Manila relied on the patronage of Church, state and society at large for their economic and material well-being. However, '"specialist" is perhaps a better term than "professional"', as Katherine Butler Brown has pointed out, since many of these musicians may have '[derived] their principal income from non-musical work'.[31] The Filipino musicians who worked in convents were probably paid 'in kind', through lodging, food and, quite simply, by means of the perceived privilege of being a member of a religious community. Musicians such as Marcelo de San Agustín and Juan Alfaro no doubt viewed their musical skills and daily practice as a form of spiritual devotion. Music probably represented to them more of a religious vocation than a professional 'job'. They were, to use this term, 'specialist' musicians.

But the *cantores* in parishes of Manila and throughout the Philippines were also paid for some aspects of their work, besides receiving the regular tributary concessions and rice subsidies. They received cash for

performances at feasts that were supernumerary to the Church calendar and for the provision of musical services at funerals or weddings. In Manila, two *aranceles* (schedules of ecclesiastical fees) from the second half of the eighteenth century, which were promulgated by archbishops Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad Martínez de Arizala (1690–1755) and Basilio Sancho de Santas Justa y Rufina (1728–87), in 1755 and 1771 respectively, detailed the payments that were required to be made to musicians at particular ceremonies and functions.[32] The hierarchies of fees reveal the importance of the musical profession as seen by the Church authorities. For instance, while Spaniards, mestizos or indigenous Filipinos paid for the presence of a sacristan at a wedding on a financial scale that reduced as it went down the *casta* system (a Spaniard, 6 reales; a mestizo, 3 reales; and a Filipino, 2 reales), someone who wanted music at a wedding, regardless of ethnicity, had to pay the same amount (2 reales) to each shawmist or any other musician hired.[33] Wedding feasts were considered an extravagance that had to be paid for.

On the other hand, when it came to funerals (which included vigil, *misa de cuerpo* and interment), Spaniards were required to pay 15 pesos for the 'ensemble of sixteen musicians [*cantores*] in the curacy of Manila', whereas mestizos would pay a discounted rate of 10 pesos, 4 reales, and Filipinos 7 pesos, 4 reales.[34] As Pablo Fernández has observed, each tribute-paying adult was also required to give 1.5 reales on the occasion of annual confession, to pay for the wax and *cantores*, and to cover the deficit of the priest's stipend and the building of the church.[35] These funds and others provided for wax and singers at the three major feasts of the year: *Titular* (patron saint of each church), *Corpus* [*Christi*] and *Monumento*.[36] For the Masses of these feasts, 10 reales would be given to the singers, and the same for vespers; for *tinieblas* (Tenebrae rites), 4 reales would be given to the *maestro* and 2 reales to each singer.[37] Given that the annual tribute per household was set at 10 reales from 1590 until the end of the eighteenth century (half for an unmarried man),[38] the sums paid to each individual *cantor* for performance at these rituals – on top of tribute exemption – represented the potential for a considerable income for the performance of music.

But to what extent did payment in hard currency benefit members of a society that before the Spanish conquest had no need, nor desire, to be patronized in this manner? What kind of 'enfranchisement' can be envisaged for the subaltern in an overseas colonial society of *ancien régime* Europe? The strictures on the indigenous population of the Philippines were numerous. The paradox of the musical profession in early modern Manila was that musicians were enfranchised through servitude and subjugation. Of course,

when compared to their compatriots who were compelled to till the fields or undergo forced labour to satisfy the requirements of tribute, *cantores* were privileged indeed. A musician with talent could come from any social background of an indigenous community – he (always he) did not have to be a *principal*. Music provided an avenue for social advancement. Of course, we should recognize that the provision of music day in, day out, for religious worship in ecclesiastical institutions throughout the colonies of the Spanish empire was considered a type of 'manual labour'.[39] *Cantores* were not necessarily exempted from tribute; rather, they offered their tribute 'in kind'. Along with the *principalía*, who were accorded special status as the 'equivalents' of European nobility, *cantores* were the 'white-collar' vassals of the Spanish king.

Brown asserts that 'all professional musicians . . . are of lower social rank relative to their patrons because they occupy a service profession.'[40] But she allows that 'the patron's limited tangible respect for the musician's art – a respect that largely serves to demonstrate the patron's cultural competence as a bona fide member of the ruling classes – nonetheless enables the musician temporarily, and sometimes permanently, to cross social boundaries ordinarily closed to members of his or her community, granting the professional musician institutionally liminal status.'[41] As far as the early modern Philippines are concerned, however, I would argue that it was only Filipino musicians who entered religious vocations who were to any extent enfranchised and who became truly liminal. Many of these musicians were what we could call *ladinos* – indigenous members of colonial society who learned the language of the Spanish overlords fluently, and, in doing so, absorbed much of the colonialists' culture. As linguistically and culturally liminal entities, *ladinos* were able to engage with both the Filipino and Spanish strata of society. Yet early modern *cantores* remained members of the subaltern, even though they were able to alleviate the vicissitudes of their situation through musical expression and through their apparent control of their own sonic spaces (parish churches). It was only in the nineteenth century that members of the emerging *ilustrado* class (a group of wealthy, erudite Filipinos, many of whom studied in Spain and fomented nationalistic sentiments) produced musicians who would mix freely and easily with the Spanish elite, on temporarily egalitarian terms that were hard won through Spanish respect for skills in musical performance.[42]

We have seen how the patronage of the Spanish monarch brought about musical performances by Filipinos. But if we look more closely at church ceremonies, we can see an interesting area of reciprocal patronage. Significantly, some Filipinos are prominent within ecclesiastical records because

they themselves were patrons of church music. From the early seventeenth century, a number of wealthy indigenous *principales* – men and women alike – established *capellanías* or chantry funds in their wills for the benefit of their souls in Purgatory, paying for Masses to be said or sung by priests and/or *cantores*.[43] Evidence of *capellanías* can be found in and around Manila, and especially in the nearby province of Pampanga. The foundation of these chantry funds, just a few decades after the Spanish invasion of Luzon had commenced, illustrates the extent to which the indigenous nobility embraced the new religion, its rituals and its doctrine. Indigenous patrons paid European priests and local Filipino choirs to sing for their souls after their deaths, leaving detailed instructions in their wills. An inversion and subversion of the colonial power structure took place in this way. It was now the European who would sing at the behest of the Filipino. For example, in the mid seventeenth century, a wealthy Tagalog lady named doña Juana Guinto bequeathed a plot of land to the church of Nuestra Señora de Guía in Ermita, in exchange for an annual Mass to be sung for her soul in that church, together with 'a vigil and a prayer for my soul at the end of the mass like the chaplaincies of the Cathedral Church of Manila'. She requested that the funds to pay for the costs of the Mass and the hiring of singers should be paid from the rent from the land 'so that the benefits to my soul will never be interrupted'.[44] From the will of doña Juana Guinto, it is evident that the practices of the cathedral were models that participants in sacred ceremonies aspired to emulate in other ecclesiastical spaces. Performances by musicians and the enactment of ritual were thus reliant on indigenous patronage as well as indigenous cooperation. Yet they also depended on the participation of European clergy,[45] whose willingness to sing Masses for the souls of the indigenous (and wealthy) departed probably had to be gauged before such an arrangement could be made. We can see that in this way, the patronage of church music by Spaniard and Filipino alike allowed for a certain, limited degree of egalitarianism within the otherwise intractably stratified society of Manila.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have deliberately eschewed the discussion of any particular performance or performances for the purpose of focusing on the governance of indigenous ecclesiastical musicians and their practice. The parochial *cantores* have been largely written out of colonial historiography, and are only documented through the slew of decrees spelling out universal

employment conditions for Filipino musicians in parish churches throughout the islands. However, simple estimates based on ecclesiastical surveys of the mid eighteenth century show that the number of hispanized 'professional' or 'specialist' musicians in the early modern Philippines was quite considerable, and at its peak probably outnumbered the total Spanish and Spanish mestizo population (musical and non-musical).

Cantores and *maestros de capilla* were placed in a coveted position within colonial society. They were able to occupy a liminal space in colonial society – poised at a social frontier – enjoying direct access to the religious authorities and to the spiritual realm, at the same time as being envied by their community for the material benefits they enjoyed. And yet, no doubt unwittingly, they also acted as agents for the reinforcement of the authority of Church and state over indigenous society. The very existence of their occupation was reliant on the *reducción* or urbanization of the indigenous population. The tribute-free positions for *cantores* could only exist in the urbanized *pueblos* that were 'reduced', 'pacified' and taxed. In line with the processes of colonialism, the *cantores* made music education function as a catalyst for transculturation and social formation through their transmission of knowledge to students and apprentices. They effectively supported the suppression of precolonial practices and the increasing standardization of ecclesiastical music throughout the islands, thereby propelling the hegemony of Western musical practices.

While parochial *cantores* may have experienced within their communities certain levels of independence, autonomy and authority that could be found in few other contexts of society, their positions and roles were nevertheless rigorously codified by colonial authorities. Thus their liminality – which was a condition that most of their compatriots would not know – was in fact limited. Employment as a musician was usually not sufficient to effect a rags-to-riches transformation; it merely enfranchised a Filipino from the burden of tribute in the early modern Philippines. This financial escape route, such as it was, still came bound up with its own set of rules and ordinances, expectations and obligations. The music profession was caught in a double bind. Yet within the urban spaces that were regulated by the colonizing power, musicians had the power to move the emotions of their listeners – even the elite, if they were present.

Today we see the legacy of the *cantores*' dynasties in the sheer proliferation of parochial musicians throughout the Philippines. The performance of music remains a central part of life in the global Filipino diaspora. Perhaps the urbanization of indigenous communities, the appointment of musicians to ecclesiastical institutions, and the institution of tribute-free positions in

the early modern Philippines played a key role in increasing the popularity of Western music for centuries to follow. Whether or not this is truly the case, it is certainly evident that the employment, enfranchisement and liminality of Filipino musicians under the Spanish colonial regime contributed to the popular perception – as prevalent now as it was then – of musical training and practice as an advantageous mechanism for social ascendancy, and as a pragmatic means by which individuals and families could improve their material circumstances. It is also very likely that musicians enjoyed what they did. Even though ecclesiastical music reinforced the ceremonial and ritual structures that upheld cultural, political and religious hegemony, this art form had the power to act as an antidote to colonial oppression.

7 Employment, enfranchisement and liminality: Ecclesiastical musicians in early modern Manila

1 Religion, however, remained one area where 'White Anglo-Saxon Protestant' intervention made little headway, and most of the Filipino population remains staunchly Roman Catholic.
2 Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, p. 12.
3 Abella, 'From *Indio* to Filipino', p. 10.
4 'Ya todos danzan, bailan, tañen y cantan á nuestro modo, y usan de todos los instrumentos de los españoles, y cantan de manera que nosotros no les hacemos ventaja. Ellos son los músicos en todas las iglesias de estas islas, así de la catedral de Manila como de las demás iglesias y conventos que están dentro y fuera de la Ciudad. Y apenas se hallará un pueblo que no tenga su música con bastantes voces y tiples y muchos instrumentos: y es común sentir de los que han visto uno y otro, que hay aquí músicas que pueden competir con algunas de las catedrales de España' (Santa Inés, *Crónica*, vol. I, pp. 46–7).
5 Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, p. 245.
6 Oss, *Catholic Colonialism*.
7 On the complex issue of prehispanic class structure in the Philippines, see Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain*, pp. 96–126, and *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino*, pp. 84–103; also Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. I, p. 23.
8 For a contextual background of tribute, see Alonso, 'Financing the Empire'. The tribute exacted from each Filipino family was set at 10 reales, a rate that was much lower than in many parts of Latin America. Men began paying tribute from the age of eighteen; women were exempted. The *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* mandated that indigenous peoples newly converted to the Christian faith should be exempted from tribute and other services for a period of ten years. In 1620, this same concession was extended to the Chinese in Manila. See *Recopilación de leyes*, vol. II, fols. 208r–208v, 217r, 272r.
9 *Ibid.*, vol. II, fol. 221r. Luis Alonso claims that 'the Spaniards acted more efficiently in the Philippines than in Mexico, considering that, in general, they won over and transformed the indigenous aristocracy into collaborators in a project that was full of contradictions, triumphs, and setbacks.' Alonso, 'Financing the Empire,' p. 68. For a discussion of indigenous nobility's role in the colonial regime, see Alonso Álvarez, 'Los señores del *Barangay*', pp. 355–406.
10 According to Santiago, 'these included the Houses of Matanda and his nephew, Soliman of Manila, Lakandula of Tondo across the Pasig and Tupas of Cebu' (Santiago, 'The houses of Lakandula', p. 40). For an example of a Filipino coat of arms, see Castro y Amuedo and Graiño, *Ortografía y reglas*.
11 Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, p. 122.
12 Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 139.

13 Fernández Navarrete, 'An account of the empire', pp. 240–1. The original text reads: 'A cada Iglesia dà su Magestad ocho Cantores, tienen sus privilegios, ocupanse en los Oficios Divinos, cantan excelentemente, y como siempre ay pretendientes, el numero es mayor, pero los ocho señalados, usan solo de los privilegios concedidos' (Fernández Navarrete, *Tratados historicos*, p. 306).

14 'Tambien reserva el Rey de tributo a trece personas para servicio de la Ygl[esi].ª, y del P[adr].e, y con el M[aest]ro de capilla siete Cantores[,] dos sachristanes, dos cosineros, y un portero' ('Ritual o Libro de las Costumbres', fol. 15v (Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer MS 1711)).

15 'No deve el ministro mandar assi â los Cantores como â los Sachristanes, otros trabajos distintos de los que corresponden â sus oficios, Vg. no les podrá mandar cuydar de las bacas, ô cavallos ni asistir en la cocina, ô convento para cuidar alli de estas ó las otras cosas, tampoco podrá tener Indios con nombre de Cantores ò Sachristanes, para que sirvean al Padre en el Convento, cocina, ô fuera' (Ortiz, *Practica del ministerio*, pp. 44–5).

16 'De estos se entresacan los mas aptos para el servício de la Iglesia, y Cúlto de Dios, en que se habilítan, unos, para el Oficio de Sachristan, y otros, para el de Cantòr. Assi se admíran celebrados los Divinos Oficios con la devocion, y solemnidad, que correspónde al servício personàl de unos Sachristánes bien informados en la práctica del Rituàl; y à la desstréza de vóces músicas, en que se exercítan los Cantóres desde su niñes; no aviendo Iglesia, que carézca de una Capílla de vóces, y Instruméntos músicos muy cabàl, con que los Religiosos suplen en el Divíno Cúlto, su sensible soledad, se aficiónan los Indios à las assisténcias de èl' (San Antonio, *Chrónicas*, vol. II, p. 14).

17 'Se enseñen á rezar leer, escrivir, contar, cantar, ayudar á Missa... Avrà siempre un Maestro, que lo sea de la escuela, y Cantores, el mas diestro, y Principal, persona de talento, á quien todos tengan respecto, que con cuydado assista á la escuela, y enseñe todo lo dicho en el numero antecedente, y assi mismo, el Cantollano, y de Organo, si lo huviere, el tocar las flautas, y demas instrumentos musicos que se acostumbran tocar en las Iglesias' (*Estatutos y ordenaciones*, p. 134).

18 'En Todos los Pueblos, que passaren de cien Indios, haya dos, ó tres Cantores' (*Recopilación de leyes*, vol. II, fol. 198v).

19 Río, *Instrucciones morales*, fol. 18v.

20 '24. Itt. Se declara que los pueblos que escedieren de quinientos tributos tengan solamente ocho cantores para el servício de las Iglesias, dos sacristanes y un portero, asistiéndole á cada uno de la Caja de comunidad con el arroz acostumbrado, que suelen ser al año cuatro fanegas de paláy de cuarenta y ocho gantas. En los pueblos de cuatrocientos tributos, seis cantores. En los de trescientos cinco. En los de doscientos cuatro, de cuyo número no se bajará, aunque el pueblo sea menor; entendiéndose, que los dos sacristanes y portero sean fijos en todas las Iglesias que tengan Cura ó Doctrinero; y porque en estos puntos ha habido

muchos excesos en perjuício de la Real Hacienda y de los naturales, se manda que los Alcaldes aplique todo su celo sin consentir mas cantores, sacristanes ni porteros, pena de doscientos pesos' (Del-Pan, *Ordenanzas de buen gobierno*, p. 60).

21 Delgado, *Historia general*, pp. 155–6.

22 Díaz-Trechuelo López-Spínola, 'Filipinas', p. 520.

23 It is difficult to make assumptions about ethnicity based on surnames in the colonial Philippines. To make matters even more complicated, historians must remember that in 1849 legislation was passed to enforce the adoption of Spanish surnames by Filipinos who had not had a family name for more than four generations. See Scott, *Seeing like a State*, pp. 69–71; Abella (ed.), *Catálogo alfabético*.

24 Summers, 'Listening for historic Manila', p. 224.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

26 'Un Hermano tenèmos en la Religion, llamado Fray Marcelo de San Augustin, natural de este Puevlo, que puede ser corona de los Indios Tagàlos, por su rara virtud, y lo bien que ha servido al Convento de Manila, en varios oficios; para todos los quales le ha dado Dios habilidad. Porque èl es Organista el mas diestro que se conoce entre los Indios, que son muy habiles en Instrumentos; es Compositor, y Maestro de los Cantores, y Sacristan Menor, y ha hecho, y escrito muchos Libros de el Coro, y sobre todo, es gran Siervo de Dios' (San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 490–1).

27 'Sus padres fueron Principales; y el sitio donde està al presente la Iglesia, y Sacristia del Convento de Manila, eran casas, y tierras de su abuelo, razon que moviò tambien para darle el Abito' (San Agustín, *Conquistas*, p. 491). According to Santiago, Marcelo's parents don Francisco Banal and doña Clara Morahin had originally 'owned the land on which the [Augustinian] congregation's famous church and sacristy in Intramuros were erected.' See Santiago, 'The houses of Lakandula', p. 43.

28 See Woods, 'Racial exclusion'.

29 Genealogical research by Santiago has shown that Marcelo Banal de San Agustín was descended through doña María Laran (his great-grandmother), who was the daughter and only surviving child of Soliman (Santiago, 'The houses of Lakandula', pp. 43, 46).

30 'Alfaro, (H[erman].° Lego Fr. Juan de). Natural de Tanauan, provincia de Samar, profesó en Manila el 15 de Septiembre de 1695, y desempeñó durante veinte años el oficio de Organista en el mismo convento' (Pérez, *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 209).

31 Brown, 'The social liminality of musicians', p. 15, note 12.

32 Martínez y Arizala, 'Arancel de derechos parroquiales', Biblioteca del Real Colegio de los PP Agustinos Filipinos, Valladolid; Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, *Nos D. Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa, y Rufina*. The wording of the latter *arancel* (1771) is almost identical to that of the former (1755), as are the fees.

33 'Por el velo, cruz y ciriales en el casamiento dará el español al sacristan = 6r = el mestizo = 3 y el indio = 2 = si huviere chirimias, ó musicos se les dará = 2r = á cada uno' (Martínez y Arizala, 'Arancel de derechos parroquiales', p. 172).
34 'Por entierro, Vigilia y misa de cuerpo presente dará el español = 15 pesos. = por toda la capilla de 16 cantores en el curato de Manila el mestizo = 10 pesos y 4 r = y el indio = 7 pesos y 4 r' (*ibid.*, p. 177).
35 Fernández, *History of the Church*, p. 158.
36 *Monumento* refers to the object built to house the host (body of Christ), which was exposed from Good Friday to Easter Sunday. Thus the use of the term in reference to a feast with singers probably refers to Good Friday.
37 Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, *Nos D. Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa, y Rufina.*
38 Alonso, 'Financing the empire', p. 79.
39 Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, pp. 84–5.
40 Brown, 'The social liminality of musicians', p. 20.
41 *Ibid.*
42 One such musician was the violinist Manuel Luna (1856–83). See Canave-Dioquino, 'The lowland Christian Philippines', p. 866.
43 Santiago, 'The first Filipino capellanías'.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 428.
45 The earliest unambiguous example of an ordination of a Filipino dates from 1698. See Santiago, *The Hidden Light*, especially pp. 73–4.

8 Chapelmasters and musical practice in Brazilian cities in the eighteenth century

1 *Constituições Primeiras*, § 683, p. 251.
2 *Ibid.*, § 518, p. 200.
3 Duprat, 'Paranaguá'.
4 *Livro do Registro geral (Provisões)*, 1748–1750 vol. I, fols. 105v–106v (Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana).
5 Rezende, *A música na história de Minas colonial*, p. 290.
6 *Anuário Católico*, pp. 1–813.
7 *Regimento Do Coro da S.ta Sé da Bahia . . ., parte I: 30/04/1754* (documento anexo aos Estatutos / Da Sancta Sè da Bahia . . .), cód. 4-a-8, fol. 55r., Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP.
8 *Atas da Camara*, pp. 372–3.
9 Testamento de Antonio Machado do Passo (Nossa Senhora da Candelária de Utu, 14/11/1705), *Inventários e Testamentos*, vol. XXV, p. 170.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 192.
11 *Registro Geral*, vol. II, p. 488.
12 Monteiro, 'João de Deus de Castro Lobo', p. 45.
13 Trindade and Castagna, 'Música pré-barroca luso-americana'.